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Author(s): C. Luther Fry

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## NOTES

## ILLEGAL ENTRY OF ORIENTALS INTO THE UNITED STATES BETWEEN 1910 AND 1920

BY C. LUTHER FRY

One of the valuable uses of statistics is to find the probable magnitude of data that cannot be precisely measured. The ascertaining of the number of smuggled Orientals is a problem of this type as it is virtually impossible to gather information directly on the subject. The problem, however, can be attacked indirectly. Available data make it possible to estimate the minimum, the maximum, and the most probable number of Orientals who illegally entered the United States between 1910 and 1920.

In other words, it is feasible to approximate the size of a significant social group whose members cannot be counted separately. This procedure is important because there are doubtless many similar problems that could be handled in the same way. For example, it should be possible, by employing in general the same method, to ascertain the number of Mexicans who are illegally entering this country.

An analysis of official figures reveals that during the ten-year period ending in 1920, not fewer than 7,150 Chinamen and 9,400 Japanese entered illegally. As the total number of Oriental males living in the United States in 1910 was only 143,688, a minimum of 16,500 Asiatics who must have been smuggled in, is equivalent to one-eighth of all those in the country. Further analysis shows that there might have been as many as 50,000, but that the actual number who entered illegally was probably about 27,000.

The fact that there has been smuggling has been admitted by no less an authority than the Commissioner of Immigration himself. In the report of January 30, 1919, he declared: "Confidential information of unquestionable authenticity shows very conclusively that Japanese smuggling across the Mexican border is carried on successfully, and doubtless to a very large extent." In the 1925 report the statement is made: "A machine has been built up designed solely to operate against those smuggling Chinese and Japanese." These and similar statements which have appeared with notable frequency in annual reports of the Commissioners, demonstrate beyond question that Orientals are

coming in illegally. The numbers involved, however, have not been known.

The method of arriving at the minimum number of smuggled Asiatics is simple. The Thirteenth and Fourteenth Censuses give the country's total Oriental population for 1910 and 1920 respectively. Statistics of the Commissioner of Immigration show the total number of Chinese and Japanese who legally entered the country during the decade, and figures from the Census Bureau make it possible to arrive at the maximum excess of births over deaths among Orientals in the United States; it therefore becomes easy to find the minimum number who must have entered the country illegally. All that is necessary is to add to the Oriental population of 1910, the number of Orientals who during the next ten years legally entered this country from abroad, and the maximum number who could have been born here, and then to subtract the known losses through emigration and death. The result is the maximum number of Chinese and Japanese that would have been residing in the United States in 1920, provided there had been no smuggling. A comparison of these figures with the 1920 Census totals reveals the minimum number of Chinese and Japanese that must have been smuggled into the country in order to make the 1920 figure as large as it was actually found to be.

Because it is only reasonable to suppose that men are being smuggled rather than women, the two sexes throughout this study have been analyzed separately. The figures appear in the table.

	Chinese		Japanese	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
(A) Total number of Orientals (1910 Census).....	66,856	4,675	63,070	9,087
(B) Aliens legitimately arrived, 1910 to 1920 (Immigration Report).....	76,080	3,431	64,841	50,865
Immigrant.....	15,590	2,691	33,131	45,950
Non-immigrant.....	60,490	740	31,710	4,915
(C) Maximum of children born here since April 15, 1910, and who were alive at 1920 Census date.....	2,559	2,559	12,871	12,871
(D) (A)+(B)+(C).....	145,495	10,665	140,782	72,823
(E) Aliens departed, 1910 to 1920 (Immigration Report).....	88,723	1,617	72,841	18,725
Emigrant.....	20,738	621	11,533	3,068
Non-emigrant.....	67,985	996	61,308	15,657
(F) Known deaths from 1910 to 1920 of Orientals over ten years (Census Report).....	10,048	589	4,661	1,589
(G) (E)+(F).....	98,771	2,206	77,502	20,314
(H) Maximum Oriental population, 1920, if there were no smuggling (D)-(G).....	46,724	8,459	63,280	52,509
(I) Actual Oriental population, 1920 (Census Report).....	53,891	7,748	72,707	38,303
(J) Minimum number smuggled into the United States, 1910 to 1920.....	7,167	....	9,427	....

The top line of this table shows the total number of Orientals listed in the Census of 1910. To get at the maximum number that could have

been living in the United States in 1920, exclusive of those smuggled, the first step is to add the increase through immigration and through births. Line (B) of the table gives the total number of alien Chinese and Japanese who legally entered the country between July 1, 1910, and January 1, 1920.<sup>1</sup>

Line (C) shows the maximum number of Oriental children born in this country between 1910 and 1920 who could have been alive and living here in 1920. These figures were derived from the 1920 Census. So far as the females are concerned, the numbers given in the table are merely the total of Oriental girls under ten years of age as given in the 1920 Census. Of course, this number tends to overestimate the actual number of girls alive in 1920 that were born in the United States between 1910 and 1920, because it includes children who came to this country from abroad. In computing this minimum estimate, however, no attempt was made to exclude immigrant children from these figures even though it was known that they had already been counted among the incoming aliens.

So far as the boys are concerned, the number alive in 1920 who were born here since 1910 has been assumed to be identically the same as the number of girls. This, too, is a conservative estimate, because there is a well known biological tendency for the number of girl babies born to any given group of mothers slightly to exceed the number of boy babies.<sup>2</sup>

From this analysis it is clear that line (D) of the table represents the maximum number of Orientals that could have been alive in 1920 if there had been no emigration and no deaths of Orientals over ten years of age. But the number of Oriental emigrants between 1910 and 1920 is known. These are the figures given in line (E). Moreover, an incomplete count of the Chinese and Japanese over ten years of age that died during the decade is also available from the mortality statistics compiled by the Federal Government for the registration area.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> These figures, which were obtained from regular or special reports of the Commissioner General of Immigration, exclude data for the period April 15, 1910, to July 1, 1910; but it is not believed that this omission is serious, particularly because this exclusion is largely compensated by the fact that the emigration figures given in line (E) also exclude this same two and one-half month period. A special report compiled in the office of the Commissioner General shows that between April 1 and July 1, 1910, the total number of immigrant and non-immigrant Chinese who entered the country was 1,537, while the number departing was 1,527. Although the figures are not available by sex, it seems reasonable to assume that the number of Chinese women and men excluded from this computation because the period April 15 to July 1, 1910, was omitted would be compensated by the fact that numbers departing during this same period were also excluded. For the Japanese, the total number who entered the country between April 1 and July 1, 1910, is known to be 1,242, while the emigrants totaled 1,709. In this case, the arriving aliens were more than compensated by those who departed.

<sup>2</sup> The fact that the Chinese and Japanese boys under the age of ten years, as given in the 1920 Census, outnumber the girls, can easily be explained by a tendency for more boys than girls to enter the country as immigrants.

<sup>3</sup> Because the Government was unable to furnish even for the registration area the exact number of Orientals over ten who died between January 1, 1910, and April 15, 1910, the number of deaths during

If now the total number of Chinese and Japanese who, between 1910 and 1920, legally departed from the United States, or who are known to have died, is subtracted from the maximum number of Orientals given in line (D), the remainder is the maximum Oriental population that could have been living in the United States in 1920 if there had been no smuggling. By comparing these figures with the actual number of Orientals living in the United States in 1920 as given by the Fourteenth Census, it is a simple matter of subtraction to arrive at the minimum number that must have illegally entered during the decade. These figures, which are presented in the last line of the table, show that the number of smuggled Chinese men was at least 7,167, while the number of Japanese must have been no less than 9,427. In other words, the total number of Oriental men smuggled in during the ten years following 1910 could not have been less than 16,594.

Even this figure is undoubtedly smaller than the actual number of those smuggled. In reality, as has already been stated, there may have been as many as 50,000, but the probable number was about 27,000.

It is obvious that the minimum estimate of those smuggled is too low. Between 1910 and 1920 many more Orientals over ten years of age died in the United States than are shown in the computation. The figures employed in the table are merely totals for the registration area which even today covers only a fraction of the United States and was decidedly less in 1910.

Not only does the computation underestimate the number of deaths but it overestimates the number of births, because, as has been previously mentioned, it assumes that all the Oriental girls under ten years of age reported in the 1920 Census (and similar number of boys) were born in this country when in reality some of them were undoubtedly born abroad and have therefore also been counted among the number of incoming aliens.

The extent to which these factors inflate the 1920 estimates can be seen by studying separately the figures for females which are undoubtedly little affected by smuggling. Among both the Japanese and Chinese women the actual 1920 population was decidedly below the estimates. In the case of the relatively few Chinese females the real 1920 figure was nearly 10 per cent below the estimate, while for the Japanese it was almost 30 per cent less.

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this period was assumed to be one-third of the 1910 total. Moreover, it was necessary for the years 1912 and 1913 to estimate the probable number of deaths under ten years; but since the total number of Oriental deaths in the registration area was known, and since the age-distribution of the Chinese and Japanese who died during the other eight years of this decade was also known, these figures could easily be estimated with a high degree of accuracy.

Presumably the 1920 estimates for the males are also inflated to the same extent. On the rather radical assumption that the estimates for the men are 30 per cent too high, the Chinese population in 1920, assuming there had been no smuggling, would become 14,000 less than the figure in the table, while the Japanese figure would be reduced by nearly 19,000. This in turn would increase the number of smuggled Orientals from 16,500 to 49,500. This figure, of course, is almost certainly a maximum. It would seem more reasonable to assume that our 1920 estimates are probably 10 per cent too high in which case the number of smuggled Orientals becomes approximately 27,000.

This study, therefore, tends to prove that the number of Orientals smuggled into the United States between 1910 and 1920 ranged between 16,500 and 50,000 with the probable number around 27,000.

The question of smuggling is likely to become a problem of increasing public importance. It is generally recognized that the passage of the new laws restricting immigration has tended greatly to increase the number of aliens who are entering the country illegally. It is believed that after the appearance of the 1930 Census it will be possible by employing essentially the same method developed in this paper to ascertain not only the number of Orientals who illegally entered during the decade 1920 to 1930 but in addition to find the number of smuggled European aliens.